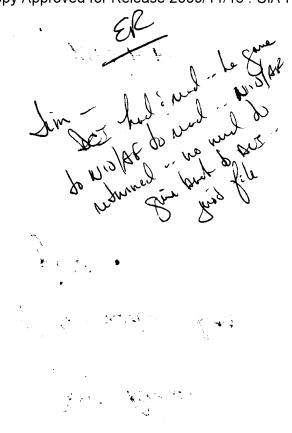
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OF COUNSEL
E. EDWARD STEPHENS

July 9, 1985

The Honorable William J. Casey Director Central Intelligence Agency Washington, DC 20505

Dear Bill:

I am writing to thank you for the time you spent with me yesterday concerning recent developments in southern Africa.

The bottom line, in summary, is that -

Concerning South West Africa, the policy of the U.S. has become irrelevant to the present situation. We refuse to recognize the facts as they are (a government in being) and we are still pushing totally a U.N. solution, under Resolution 435, that has been ineffective for seven years and that was installed in a partisan fashion in 1978 by Carter Administration representatives Andrew Young and Donald McHenry. We have everything going for us, yet we insist on a policy designed for defeat. I cannot believe that the President would want this to happen if he had all the facts before him.

Attached is a letter to the President signed by twelve U.S. Senators that tells the whole story. It asks for his personal consideration and although it was delivered on May 15, it is still bogged down in the bureaucracy and unanswered.

On the subject of the Republic of South Africa, we have pushed those people to the wall. They feel that we have two standards for terrorism - one for us and a completely different one for them. Their enemies are exploiting what they perceive as U.S. support for their activities. A continuation of our present attitudes will, in my opinion, result in destablization that will be irretrievable and that will leave the U.S. powerless to bring any influence to bear.

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The Honorable William J. Casey July 9, 1985 Page two

I regret sending such a lengthy letter, but I believe the time to be crucial to yet another area of our shrinking world.

With the highest esteemn for the work you are doing and with kindest personal regards,

Most sincerely,

Marion H. Smoak

May 15, 1985

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

When your Administration first came into office, it embraced a policy of support for the United Nations solution (Resolution 435) in the Angolan-Namibian dispute.

Much credit should go to the State Department team that has tried this diplomatic approach for more than four years without any success.

It is time, however, for a reappraisal of U.S. policy in this regard. In fact, total support of the United Nations position was also attempted under the Carter Administration for three years.

Now, after seven years, it is obvious that the communist team of Angola, the U.S.S.R. and SWAPO will never agree to any proposal that does not give them total control of the government of Namibia.

It can be argued with credibility that the United States has gone too far in its support of the United Nations position and has consequently supported the Soviet-backed terrorists, SWAPO, against the legitimate internal parties of the country. In doing this, the United States has violated its own policies of anti-terrorism, self-determination for all peoples, and adherence to the democratic process.

A bulwark of your Administration's approach has been the requirement that the Cuban troops must actually leave Angola before there can be a final solution towards independence for Namibia. It appears now that the U.S. is prepared to surrender even on this issue since the last proposal for settlement by Assistant Secretary Chester Crocker substitutes an agreement for future withdrawal rather than withdrawal at the same time that the South African troops are pulled back from Namibia.

United Nations Resolution 435, and the U. N.'s recognition of SWAPO is a prescription for total surrender of Namibia to the communist world. At the same time, it ignores all other political parties that exist under the exercise of the democratic process.

The President May 15, 1985 Page 2

Mr. President, the current policies are bringing the United States to a solution that is unacceptable. It need not be this way.

A reasonable solution to the tangled Namibian problem is possible under Resolution 435. Long aggrieved by the partiality of the United Nations for one party, SWAPO, the local leaders have come together in a Multi-Party Conference and South Africa has agreed to turn all legislative and executive authority over to this assembly as an interim government until U. N. Resolution 435 can be implemented in a reasonably fair manner.

Very little effort and no expenditure of manpower or funds would be required by the United States at this stage to bring its policy back in line with its basic principles in addition to supporting its friends of pro-Western inclination.

All that is required is that the United States recognize the Multi-Party Conference as a fact in being and as a legitimate result of the democratic process, that we elevate these leaders at least to a par with the communist and terrorist party, SWAPO, that we meet with them and give our concurrence to their entry into the negotiation process. All of this can be done in good faith, pending a final solution under Resolution 435 which will include all political parties.

Mr. President, this situation requires your personal attention outside the normal bureaucratic process. We request, therefore, that you cause an independent study to be made by a carefully selected commission of informed persons to report on what alteration may be made to U.S. policy at this time.

The hour is late and the urgency for immediate action is imperative. We ask, therefore, for your personal consideration of this problem.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse Helms

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The President May 15, 1985 Page 3

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